"Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violence of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, lever approach, so that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and

second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--151 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 173, 609 Ifalik

"It is already plain that government in Ifalik, during our stay there, was dominated by two factors: one, their own tradition; the other, the new influence of the United States. The latter was exercised through occasional visits of the Naval Government ship, and--mildly, involuntarily, yet steadily--by the two American anthropologists.

The previous chapter has given what was observed in the way of official action in foreign relations. An attempt to understand underlying attitudes, however, calls for examination of whatever other evidence can be found. One source of evidence is the legends collected on Ifalik, --to use 'legend' for the traditions that most resemble history, as distinguished from myths, with their supernatural setting, and tales told for entertainment. It happens that all the legends collected deal with relationships between the people of Ifalik and those of other islands.

This chapter will present these legends and attempt to interpret them. Each will be followed by some discussion of details, based mainly on comparison with versions recorded on Ifalik and neighboring islands by the German expedition. Some of this has little direct bearing on foreign relations, but at least it shows what parts of the legends are relatively constant in different versions: and how far the stories told in Ifalik during our stay agree with those from the other islands concerned. The whole series of legends will be followed by a more general interpretation, intended to bring out what they show about the attitudes of the people of Ifalik toward foreign countries. Finally, this will be supplemented by what can be learned from books and from informants

about recent contact with foreigners."

1: Burrows--166
116, 159, 609, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifalik to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifalik, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs."

1: Burrows--167-168 (1947-48) Woleaians 1·3
116, 787, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

3

"The substitution of an American flag for a Japanese flag at the top of the OngarIk, or front post of the men's house, has been mentioned in discussing symbols of rank. Maroligar took his time about making the change. The suggestion was made--at least to Tom, to report to the chiefs--on September 4. It was not until November 23 that Maroligar began chipping off the Japanese flag. Still, I never knew the natives to hurry unless there was desperate reason to, as when a thatched roof caught fire, or a school of bonito was sighted in the lagoon. And this time there was no particular need to hurry.

Once, early in the course of our stay, WolpaitIk said to the other chiefs 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. Otherwise--nomore chiefs.' WolpaitIk, it seemed to me, covered a very sensitive nature with a bluff front. He was given to bluff statements, which might be taken seriously or jokingly. Undoubtedly there is some fear in their attitude toward Americans. What they have heard of the bombardments of Woleai and Yap--some of their young men were in Yap at the time, and they probably had eyewitnesses on Woleai, too--gave them a great impression of American power. But they usually spoke of it--to us, at [169] least--with admiration rather than fear. Even in talking of the machine-gunning on Ifalik, they tended to make a joke of it.

But our best evidence of their attitude toward Americans is their treatment of us. Their kindliness, helpfulness and solicitude have been evident throughout this report. And we are convinced that fear had very little to do with it. While they could be

intimidated, there seems to be no need of that. Kindly treatment is both easier and more profitable, for they repay it in full."

The natives were very cordial and friendly to Sarfert. The attitude of the women was most amusing, whether the men were present or not. By nature they were vivacious, but whenever their husbands were around they scarcely uttered a word. During the exchanges they turned away when they wanted to laugh; but their eyes showed what they were thinking, and the eyes glistened in a sly but quite provocative manner.

When Sarfert was alone with them, they made no secret of the fact that they were all crazy about him. They proved it by their caresses and the dancing movements, which they made; even a white haired old woman tried to allure him, and her zealous efforts aroused much mirth. The women all declared that they simply wanted him to give them tobacco; * and they promised, that they would tell all the white men who came to Ifaluk that he was much nicer in every way than they were.

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* Tobacco has always been a very desirable commodity (Robertson 1876 / 1877 , page 50).

2: Damm et al. --118
116, 152, 609

(1909) 1938

Wolealans
Aurupik

From the first, the natives were most cordial and friendly to the white man, and they were glad to talk to Hambruch. Hellwig observes that even the smallest children were not shy, although ships come to the island only at very rare intervals.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 609, 142 Aurupik

Only Aúrepik and Oăo, the two larger ones of the 5 islands of this atoll, are inhabited. The people of Aúrepik received the strangers hospitably, and they were courteous and communicative...and even the smallest children did not show the slightest fear...The population consisted of some 60 - 80 estimated persons. With regard to their appearance two types could be distinguished: one, very frequent type was brachycephalous and had a stout stature; the other type was less brachycephalous and somewhat slenderer. In general the skin of the women showed a lighter color than that of the men, and sucklings had almost the color of white babies.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--251 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 562 Woleai

The natives Hellwig had to deal with were friendly and courteous, and the children were by no means shy. The visit of the whites was a rare event and due to this event everybody seemed to be stimulated into a good mood. It became apparent that the women were allowed a great deal of freedom. It did not matter that a white man was sitting alone with a [native] woman in a hut, or that a woman sold her property to the white on her own accord. They joked and laughed. . . and on every occasion they mixed songs, recited or sung, into the conversation or with business, and sometimes these songs were accompanied by rhythmic dance movements. The information which was given about a weaving loom on which a mosquito net of Hibiscus fiber was woven, was constantly and in the most funny manner interrupted by an old lady. Her flow of words had been acclaimed by the women with laughter even before the woman had squeezed herself in through the low door opening. She seemed to be a popular "jestress." In front of the narrow door of another house another gray-haired woman sat weaving so that Hellwig was unable to enter. In her stoical calmness she remained unimpressed by the persuasion of either Hellwig or the female occupants of the house. Finally, Hellwig pushed the old woman aside and went into the hut; with a little gift he atoned for his tour de force, and, after that the old woman became the friendliest person of all.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The Watoai natives endeavoured in every way to make the stay of their guest a pleasant one....As was the case on Máriam and Wolea, here, too, a pathway, lined with stones run in west-easterly direction through the whole length of the island.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 867 Elato

The natives were courteous, but the women displayed at first a certain shyness which was due to the presence of the five whites and their colored company.... We noticed the good behaviour of the children on the islands which we had recently visited; they obeyed older persons willingly.

4: Krämer--202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Uleai islanders in the past seem to have been rather rough: I learned on Lamotrek that around 1894 an Irishman, Harry Crishom, had been murdered by 4 natives. They shot him in the back and then threw him into the channel of Paliau. Probably in this instance, as in the case of the murder on Oleai, the guilty parties are strangers. For in general, the natives of Oleai have always had a reputation of friendliness and companionship; we ourselves had proof of this characteristic and Tetens also describes it.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 152, 437, 609 Ifalik

The population was fairly large, but the natives did not make a very good impression on us; they were selfish in their barter, and attempted to steal on several occasions; this confirmed what we had heard about these little islands from the fishermen on some whalers. There were some unusually large sea-shells, which were in fairly good condition, among the things that were offered to us for trade. Here again [MR: early April] there was not enough to eat, and all the natives wanted to be given food.

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 152, 177, 609

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

In spite of the abundant supply of the coconut palms, the natives charged high prices for the fruit, which the inhabitants of Lugunor had given us in great quantity. It is true that this food must be highly prized in a land where there is no fresh water, and then too, the denser the population is, the more reluctant the natives are to part with the fruit, which they need themselves. But we missed many other tokens of the cordial hospitality of the Lugunor inhabitants. Although the essential characteristics were the same for both peoples, these natives had developed a much more selfish attitude because of their frequent association with strangers.

5: Kittlitz--155-56 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 562, 609, 834 Woleai

Here too all the women were hidden at first, and the men who accompanied us kept crying: farak! farak! [156] every time that we came near one of these little houses that were all closed up. If anyone of us made any move to stay there, the natives all behaved like people who did not want any fooling about the matter. But on the whole they paid much less attention to us than did the men on Lugunor, and it soon came about that I took one of the most frequented paths on Uleai and met a woman who was walking alone too. She did not flee as the ones on Lugunor had done; but when I tried to talk to her, she looked around anxiously as if she were afraid that somebody might be angry if she were seen with me; and on this account, I did not accompany her as far as the door of her dwelling. On the fourth day after our arrival the men themselves began to present their wives to us, but it was simply in order that we might give them presents because immediately afterwards we heard the farak! farak! again. On the morning of the 8th of April we saw several canoes of women, who were rowing around our ship and who seemed to be looking at it attentively although from a safe distance.

5: Kittlitz--157 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 609, 643 Woleai

Ulemarai was the home of Kadú [MR: mentioned by Chamisso]; when he left the island, Rouá was considered the chief of the whole group, and he was still living although he had become a very feeble old man. When Lieutenant Sawalischin took the launch to survey the western part of the island, the Captain gave him some presents for the aged chief, and shortly before our departure he came to thank us for them. . . .

5: Kittlitz--163 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175, 609, 784 Aurupik

We now looked for the Eurupyk Island group, which lies south; the Uleai inhabitants had given directions to the Captain, and we found it easily on the 12th of April. It consists of just two little islands, whose inhabitants did not make the slightest effort to associate with us. We saw several canoes through our telescope, but they remained quiet on the beach, and we did not see a single boat on the water. At the time we thought this was very strange, but later W. Floyd's explanations shed some light on the matter. Probably the natives on those islands were celebrating the great yearly festival, and during the first few days they are not permitted to use their boats at all; later this tabu just applies to the use of sails.

11: Born--190-191 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Oleai natives are by nature a very friendly and peaceful people. They have never had any wars, and they have no weapons for warfare. It is all the more striking, then, that, after a longer stay with them, one becomes aware of behavior which can only be described as forward, if not impudent. [191] In their relationships with white people they make no attempt to conceal the fact that their only object is to make as great a profit as possible. This is in marked contrast to the charming and sincere behavior of the Jap natives which make all transactions with them pleasant and friendly.

12: Lutke--129-130
116, 177, 609, 622

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

To our great surprise we were not met here, as in the other places; we only saw one canoe on the water and it did not appear particularly anxious to communicate with us. When we hove to the natives tacked around us at a respectful distance and without paying attention to our signals of invitation; my passengers [AN: natives of Lamotrek], were too pleased with their gifts and their biscuits to bother much about the canoe. I was afraid that they might cause us delay and so I told them that I was going to start immediately for Ouleaï and that they would have to come with me if the canoe did not take them. This announcement produced an effect; they began to gesticulate, and finally the canoe drew along side. It held the tamol of the group, a big fat man, who knew a few words of Spanish; [130] I hastened to give him some presents, so that he would not tarry long; for I was anxious to complete my survey of these groups before nightfall. Finally, after making a few difficulties, he took the whole group, but they had a hard time to find places in the canoe.

12: Lutke--130-131 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 609 Faraulep

The natives came to us at once. One of them who had nothing in his appearance to distinguish him from the rest, surprised us by his European manners, and we were even more astonished when he came on board and began to speak a very pure Spanish. He was the chief Alaberto*, he had spent two years in the Marianas islands where he had learned Spanish so perfectly that if [131] we could not carry on a fluent conversation with him, it was our fault, and not his. His polite and charming manners made him a very interesting guest.

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* This name does not resemble a Carolinian name in the slightest; it may be that he received it in Guahan.

12: Lutke--140 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The chief Tapeligar was one of our most frequent visitors. I found him seated on his canoe under a tent. It appears that on land as well as on the water their canoes serve constantly as thrones. We scarcely ever saw the chiefs doing anything except sitting on their canoes. Tapeligar acted on the boat as if he were at home; but he did not seem disposed to repay me in the same way; after sending for some coconuts he suggested that we return to my launch, and he did not seem too pleased when I said that I wished that he would accompany me around his island instead.

12: Lutke--299-300 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 609 Woleai

Tapeligar, Aman and most of our former friends came to meet us. Aman, from his canoe cried at the top of his lungs: Maoulik Ouleaï.* They all seemed happy [300] to see us again, a joy which may have been real or feigned. They tried to make us understand that we had done well to return to their island after having been in Russia: Fragata Farak Roussia, Farak Ouleaï, Maoulik etc. Of course each one expected that these manifestations would be followed by a prompt reward, and this despite the fact that they had all come empty-handed themselves.

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* Just as at Lougounor they cried Mamal Lougounor; this confirms the supposition that mamal and maoulik, like aidara at Radak, are used in the sense of friend.

13: Lutké--147 (1827-1828) 1836 Woleaians
116, 562, 609 Woleai

The inhabitants of the Ouléaï group, as well as those of the isolated island of Feiss, were less severe towards us, as far as their women were concerned, than the inhabitants of the Lougounor group; they allowed them to be found in our company, and it needed only a short time for an intimate connection to become established between us; in spite of this sort of intimacy and the boundless confidence accorded us, there is not a single individual on the "Séniavine" who can boast of having obtained any favors from a beauty of the low islands of the Carolines.

28: Spiro--89-90
116, 854, 157, 609

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"As we have already observed, the infant is constantly and continously watched over by its mother and her attendant for the first two months. If it cries, it is picked up, nursed, rocked in their arms, or rocked in the cradle. After this two month period, there is no restriction on the people who can attend to its needs, so that its father, or siblings, or any stranger may and does pick it up, rock it, or attempt to cajole it if it cries.

Already at this age, the infant is exposed to the faces and arms of many people. For the westerner, the amount of handling the infant receives is almost fantastic. The infant, particularly after it can crawl, is never allowed to remain in the arms of one person. In the course of a half hour conversation, the baby might change hands ten times, being passed from one person to another. This transference of the infant is not due to the fatigue of the person who is holding it at the time, but is done at the request of the others. The adults, as well as the older children, love to fondle the babies and to play with them, with the result that the infant does not stay with one person very long. This means, of course, that the baby gets to know the faces of many people, and learns to appreciate the love and protection that an adult can and does give it, be he a relative or stranger. This intimacy of contact with strangers at an early age, which establishes a freedom of relationship with non-relatives at a later age, increases the uneasiness the

[90] babies might normally have towards strangers. Every person in the district, at least, is part of the infant's in-group, and is known to him from earliest infancy. The stranger, therefore, is really a stranger, whose behavior is entirely unpredictable, since he is entirely unknown. With few exceptions, therefore, the young children were very shy and in many cases downright afraid of me for a long time, until they got to know me. (and the candy I gave to every child I met was not a minor factor in establishing initial rapport with the children.)"

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes)--3 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 304, 609 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: the Caroline native] was much pleased with the Sandwich Islands [LEM: Hawaii], whose inhabitants reciprocated in their affection for him. The lobes of his ears, prodigiously elongated, drew their attention in a singular manner.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk



I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of